GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

FIRST OF THREE VOLUMES

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART II

"FROM MUKDEN TO SHANGHAI"

(23 Sep - 11 Oct - 1931)

Vol I

98-GHQ-3-2.9

RESTRICTED

These Memoirs are the private property of the family of the late Baron Kumao Harada and their reproduction in whole or in part, or any abridged form, is not authorized without the express written permission of the owner.

DECLASSIFIED
SCAP Dir. 5200.9, Sept. 27, 1945
NARS by ____ date 10-25-55

Master
14 FEB 1949
45750

Classification of the Saionji-Harada Memoirs is changed to RESTRICTED, by authority of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, GHQ, FEC, by Angus V. Rutledge, Major, Field Artillery, 1 March, 1947. (see para 16 AR 380-5, dated 6 March, 1946.)

Angus V. Rutledge
ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

RESTRICTED

[redacted]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

****

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

****

THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART TWO: FROM MUKDEN TO SHANGHAI

****

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
11.	TATEKAWA GOES TO MUKDEN	64
12.	FUTILE CABINET MOVES	86
13.	GENERAL STAFF vs. CABINET	96
14.	ARMY CRITICISM OF THE EMPEROR	106
15.- 16.	INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS	116
17.	UGAKI's OWN STORY	155
18.	CABINETEERING	162
19.	ADVANCE TO TSITSIHAR	169
20.	AMBITIOUS ADACHI	178
21.	SAIONJI PICKS INUKAI	188
22.	INUKAI APPOINTED PREMIER	197
23.	NEW APPOINTEES	201
24.	ZAIBATSU's YEN, 60,000,000	203
25.	UGAKI's TROUBLES IN KOREA	211
26.	WANTED: ELECTION FUNDS	217
27.	IMPERIAL CORTEGE BOMBED	223
28.	INUKAI CABINET RETAINED	228
29.	PRELUDE TO SHANGHAI	234
30.	HOOVER's WARNING	243
31 - 32.	ATTACK ON WOOSUNG	253
33.	THREATS OF A COUP D'ETAT	267

[redacted]

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 11
(23 September 1931)

Tatekawa goes to Mukden

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

On the afternoon of the 13th I visited the Minister of the Imperial Household, and questioned him regarding his visit to Prince Saionji at Gotemba on the previous day, but I heard nothing of interest. He said that he happened to drop in on the way back from the festival of Emperor Gouda; therefore, I did not press him with any topic of interest. However, during the course of the conversation, I did not notice any change in details of the previous discussion.

On the morning of the 14th I went to the Office of the Chief of the General Staff to get the aforementioned materials for the lecture delivered to the Emperor upon the "Manchuria-Mongolia Problem". Then I met the Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I showed the Minister of Foreign Affairs the documents pertaining to the lecture delivered to the Emperor which were handed to me by the Assistant Chief of the General Staff. The content of the documents was in part a comment on political diplomacy, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs appeared quite displeased over the matter.

I went to Hakone on the evening of the 14th, and stayed over-night at the Fujiya Hotel. The following day I left for Gotemba by car, and arrived there at 9:00 A.M. Then at 10:00 A.M. I went to Numazu with the Prince (SAIONJI) by car.

CONFIDENTIAL

and from there we went to Kyoto.

On the way, I heard the detailed story regarding the visit of the War Minister. The Prince (SAIONJI) said: "On the 11th when the War Minister was summoned to be questioned by His Majesty the Emperor, the War Minister volunteered practically all the facts before being questioned, and said: 'The banding of young officers is not desirable from the standpoint of military discipline; therefore, they will be strictly supervised. As regards the political speeches of Army men and of civilians attached to the Army, they will be strictly controlled. Foreign policy is the responsibliity of the Foreign Minister: therefore, the Army will be more discreet in regard to comments on the matter, and will not interfere or be intrusive about its work.' I wonder who told the War Minister the details of the inquiry of His Majesty in advance. The informer could have beer the Chief Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty or the military aide-de-camp."

On the 9th, the Minister of the Navy was summoned by His Majesty, and the first inquiry of the Emperor was: "Why is it that there is so much public criticism regarding military discipline?" The Minister of the Navy was completely surprised, and upon return to the office related the incident to the Vice-Minister of the Navy. I said to the Prince: "Probably the Naval Minister told the War Minister that there was such an inquiry by His Majesty."

Then the War Minister made a call at the res-

idence of the Prince, and rattled off the same speech that he had previously given to the Emperor as if he had memorized it.

Previously, the Prince had been requested by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier, if the War Minister should make a call, to urge him to be introspective regarding military discipline. However the Prince had said to me: "If the topic of conversation permits, I might be able to do that, but to tell the truth, I don't think it would be proper for me to meddle in each and every small matter, so I don't think I will comply with the request."

I was rather skeptical about the matter. However, the Prince said: "As I have already stated, the War Minister continually rattled on with the vindication of the Army. So I told him that from the beginning I have not been pleased with the fact that the Army has been sending outlaws and so-called fascist gangsters to Manchuria and Mongolia. Especially, since the Army has gone to the extent of employing such elements, it will do no good to the honor of our country and also to the prestige of the Imperial Japanese Army. If hoodlums are utilized by the Army, the other nations will classify the Japanese Army accordingly. The honor of the Imperial Army will be marred. So to speak, it should be such that the Imperial Army will be welcomed wherever and into whatever country it may go. Though it may be the land of Manchuria and Mongolia, since they are China's territory, matters pertaining to

diplomacy should be left to the sole discretion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is extremely unbecoming for the Army to make any premature statements regarding the matter. I think that a person in a responsible position, such as you, as head of the Army, should handle this problem with thorough discretion! Then the War Minister said: 'Everything you say is right. The truth is that I have been admonished by the Premier many times, and have even been cautioned by the Emperor. I beg a thousand pardons for this, and with full responsibility, I will supervise this matter.' He is useless, like beating the air. A minister like him is a real problem. Then as if joking, he rattled on as though he had just had a drink of sweet liquor. He is exeedingly undependable.'

I asked the Prince about the sentiments of His Majesty: "Do you think this to be the idea of the Emperor or do you suppose this to be the suggestion of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal?"

The Prince replied: "To tell the truth, when I recently met MAKINO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he said: 'At the Grand Maneuvers, which will be held in Kumamoto Prefecture this autumn, if the Emperor summons the War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff on the spot, and if His Majesty makes a stern inquiry regarding military discipline, it should not be too conspicuous.' Therefore I replied: 'This matter cannot wait till autumn, This is a matter or urgency, therefore action must be taken immediately. Thus if the War Minister is to

be summoned by His Majesty, at the same time or even if the dates may differ, the Naval Minister also should be summoned. The whole thing was instigated by my advice; however, in all respects, it should be given the appearance of being the spontaneous summons of the Emperor'."

When I had a talk with the Assistant Chief of the General Staff NINOMIYA, I received a strong impression that he has been communicating frequently with Baron HIRANUMA, Kiichiro. Baron HIRANUMA has pushed the Manchurian-Mongolian problem a step further, and was strongly for the severance of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia. In addition, I've heard that they were doing their utmost to stir up the Army, and I've mentioned these matters to the Prince.

As regards the coup d'etat incident, even before being questioned about it, the Assistant Chief of the General Staff tried to vindicate himself.

According to the intelligence report of the Army, 120 - 130 out of 300 bombs have been taken to Manchuria by the members of "Iaikosha", and even when the Army demanded return of the remaining 170 - 180 (bombs), its demand was not complied with. I've heard that the Assistant Chief of the General Staff was quite worried over the fact that he was not able to get the bombs back as material evidence. I've also mentioned the matter in passing to the police Commissioner.

On the 16th, I returned to Tokyo on the noon train. Then I met the Premier again, and he said:

Tatekawa goes to Mukden

"In regard to the problem of amalgamation of the ministries, the Home Minister came to me and said: 'Please do not bring up the ministry amalgamation problem until the 25th, the day the general result of the election of the members of the prefectural assemblies is known.' Therefore until the 25th, I will not make an issue of the problem openly. However, as for the Finance Minister, he intends to visit each and every minister, and secure their general understanding by the 25th. As for myself, I don't think there is any other way but to materialize this plan, therefore I am determined to assist the Finance Minister in materializing this plan."

Later on, I told the Premier the whole story of the meeting of the Minister of War and the Prince. The Premier had already met the Prince on the 13th, and it seemed that he had already heard about it in general. According to what I heard from the Prince, the Premier visited him on the 13th. The Premier mentioned to the Emperor his intention of transferring HARA, the Oversea Affairs Minister, to the post of Railways Minister. And the Emperor said: "Has not this man served prison terms? Wait a while." Then the Premier was kept waiting. At that moment the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal happened to make an appearance, and he was immediately summoned by the Emperor. The Emperor asked the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "Generally speaking, HARA, Minister of Oversea Affairs, is a person liable to criticism, and is a person who has served a prison term, but do you consider it advisable to place him in the post of

CONFIDENTIAL

Railways Minister again?"

Then the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal replied: "If this matter is going to be disapproved, the problem should have been considered prior to the Imperial appointment of him as Minister of Oversea Affairs. Now that he has already been appointed a Minister of Overseas Affairs, and that this case involves only a shifting of posts, it is inevitable that it be approved. In case Your Majesty does not approve this, the cabinet will be forced to resign en bloc. At this critical moment I doubt very much that change in government is advisable. I believe that Your Majesty should grant approval." Therefore, there was an approval by the Emperor.

Prior to the approval of the matter by the Emperor, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier told the Emperor: "He (Minister of Overseas Affairs HARA) is a person who has served a prison term, but has been amnestied, and today we do not think that there will be any objections to him." Then the Emperor retorted: "You say this and that about amnesty, however the moral responsibility will still remain."

Therefore, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was deeply humiliated, and this matter was reported to the Prince by the Premier and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal immediately reported the aforementioned incident to the Prince in a sealed letter. In the letter, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal stated: "I made such and such reply to the inquiry of His Majesty, but

being in the responsible position of counselor to His Majesty, I could not help but feel apprehensive over the matter. I request the advice of the Prince." So the Prince replied: "If I had been counselled by His Majesty, I myself would not have been able to make a better reply. Your reply was very satisfactory." Therefore, I heard from the Prince that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal felt greatly reassured.

Then I said to the Prince: "At present the Minseito is in power, and when the Cabinet Ministers from the Minseito were being appointed, we did not hear of any objection from the Emperor regarding their appointments. Even in case of the Imperial sanction is not granted to the new Cabinet, I think that they will quietly resign without creating disturbance in the public mind. However, if by any chance an Imperial command is issued to the Seiyukai to organize a new Cabinet, and if such persons as YAMAMOTO, Jotaro, HARA or anyone that might be questionable are included in the list of new Cabinet members that is submitted to the Emperor for approval, I am sure there will be instances when His Majesty will not grant approval of such a Cabinet. Today it is being affirmed that persons close to the Emperor are pro-Minseito; that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is no good; that ICHIGI should resign; and there are also comments upon the Grand Chamberlain. Without reason there is a clamor for the change of all personnel close to the Emperor to persons favorable to the Seiyukai such as HIRANUMA and others.

"At this moment there might be someone that

might make an issue of the fact that the Emperor has approved the shifting of the Minister of Overseas Affairs to the Railways Ministry, and that might criticize persons close to the Emperor. There also might be persons that will say that there is a plot between the Minseito and persons close to the Emperor. In addition, the Privy Council or the right wing politicians might clamour in unison, and an undesirable situation might be created in the House of Peers. Therefore, I believe it perhaps necessary to caution INUKAI (president of the Seiyukai) right now, regarding the matter, prior to the formation of a new Cabinet. However, if INUKAI is not sincere regarding the matter and if he intends to take advantage of the situation, instead, he will include persons that might be objectionable to the Emperor in the list of new Cabinet members. Then the list of new Cabinet members might be rejected by the Emperor, and there is a possibility of causing an undesirable situation. Even if INUKAI has no intention of causing such trouble, there are bound to be persons of such an inclination among those that he might consult regarding the matter. Therefore, we should be cautious from now on. If it is unwise to warn INUKAI about the aforementioned matter, then, the Emperor should be asked to caution the Naval and the War Minister about the disorderly situation of military discipline. The general public is embittered against political party government because of its corruption and degredation. Therefore, there is a necessity of requesting the political parties to be introspect-

ive about their actions. Whenever there is a change of Cabinet it should be arranged under one pretext or another, that the Emperor should summon the President of the political party in power prior to the organization of the new Cabinet, and inquire: 'Are the political parties of today able to live up to the expectation of the people? Unless the politicians are regarded as a nucleus of moral influence by the general public, they cannot administer a true government.' The leaders of political parties should submit the list of new Cabinet members to the Emperor after careful deliberation, and should not list any persons who have served prison terms or persons that might be objectionable to His Majesty. I believe this plan to be preferable to submitting the list of new Cabinet members directly to His Majesty without taking into consideration these matters, and thus causing an undesirable situation." Then the Prince replied: "I believe it to ba a necessary measure and it is a very good idea. However, you should first consult the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal regarding the matter."

I mentioned the subject to KIDO and KONOYE, and they said, "It is a very difficult problem." Then, I mentioned the same subject to the Premier, and the Premier said: "If there is an inquiry by His Majesty to the presidents of political parties only, it will give the general public an impression that the Emperor has confirmed the party government policy. Again, if those that are accorded the privileges of a minister are included in the inquiry

by His Majesty, it will be interpreted as if more power is being given to those that are seeking the position of next Genro (elder statesman). Anyhow it is a difficult problem." The Premier seemed to consider it an urgently necessary measure.

On the morning of the 19th, I read in the newspaper about the blowing up of the railroad on the outskirts of Mukden. At that very moment my immediate perception was that it had finally happened.

On the 14th the War Minister returned from Gotemba, and immediately had Maj. General TATEKAWA deliver a confidential letter to the Commander in Chief of the Kwantung Army. The content of the confidential letter was about the warning the War Minister received from His Majest regarding military discipline, and also about the fact that he was told by His Majesty to take extra precautions in regard to the actions of the army in Manchuria and Mongolia. The War Minister transmitted the wishes of His Majesty to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army with the intention of putting a final stop to the various army schemes in Manchuria and Mongolia. I believe that the War Minister consulted the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau regarding the selection of an envoy for the delivery of the confidential letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army. When consulted, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau probably responded to the War Minister that in his opinion the matter could not be settled by anyone except Maj. General TATEKAWA. I think that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau recommended

CONFIDENTIAL

TATEKAWA because he and TATEKAWA had a scheme. The probable reasons that the Chief of the Military Affairs Buearu stated in recommending TATEKAWA for the mission were: that TATEKAWA was one of the responsible individuals in the Army Scheme in Manchuria and that it would be impossible for anyone, but TATEKAWA, to restrain the young reactionary elements in Manchuria. Since NINOMIYA, KOISO and TATEKAWA were in complete control of the Army at that time, I believe that TATEKAWA was recommended for the mission under the pretext that the matter cannot be settled by anyone but TATEKAWA, in order to accomplish their true intention of starting an incident in Manchuria.

The incident broke out on the night that TATEKAWA arrived at Mukden with the confidential letter from the War Minister. In short, it seems to me that it was TATEKAWA's plan to start the Manchurian incident before the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army saw the confidential letter from the War Minister. At the beginning of the conference of the higher officials of the Army and the Supreme War Councillors, the attitude of the members was very firm regarding the carrying out of the Army plan in Manchuria, however, when the War Minister conveyed the wishes of His Majesty to the members at the conference, the attitude of the members changed completely. Then it was finally decided that the Manchurian plan of the Army should be entirely suspended. For that reason, I believe that the arrangement was made to forward the confidential letter of the War Minister

to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army.

On the 19th, during the Cabinet meeting, the Premier said to the War Minister: "Could the true cause of this incident be that the Japanese guards were attacked by the Chinese soldiers when they attempted to protect the railroad from being destroyed by the Chinese soldiers? If it was not in self-defense, and if it was a conspiracy of the Japanese Army, what will Japan's position be in the eyes of the world? I regret that such an unfortunate incident has occurred. However, this is an accidental incident, therefore every effort should be exerted to prevent this incident from spreading." Then the War Minister immediately said: "I intend to issue instructions to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army to take measures so that this incident will not spread, and not to occpy the government buildings and the fortifications by artillery bombardment." Meanwhile, reports were being received to the effect that the Kwantung Army had already captured this or that area, and that all are under the control of the Kwantung Army.

The Premier gave thorough instructions to the War Minister regarding the maintenance of the international prestige of Japan. Then the Premier asked the Naval Minister: "In case there is danger to the Japanese nationals living in other parts of China, the Navy will have to protect them, but is the Navy prepared?" The Naval Minister replied: "The Navy has 1500 marines ready in Sasebo, in groups of 500 in three places."

Tatekewa goes to Mukden

On the morning of the 19th, the War Minister immediately reported all the facts to the Emperor. On the afternoon of the 19th, the Premier reported to His Majesty, and said: "It is very regrettable that such an unfortunate incident has happened, however, everything that the War Minister reported to Your Majesty is true. I have conferred with my Cabinet, and have decided to prevent this incident from spreading. I am determined to settle this incident as soon as possible." Before leaving the palace the Premier met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain, then returned home.

According to what I have heard, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was very much concerned about the incident, and had been incessantly inquiring whether it was true that the Chinese had started this incident, or what is the true cause and the true motive of the incident.

When I was visiting at the Foreign Ministry, among the telegrams there was one from the American Consul, complaining that the Japanese had fired machine guns into a club owned by an American in Mukden. Furthermore, I thought this matter might be further complicated since at that time delegates to the Pan-Pacific Conference were staying in Mukden.

About supper time on the 19th, there was a call from the Premier, and he said: "I want you to come immediately." Therefore, I went to the Official residence of the Premier after dinner. The Premier appeared very troubled, and he said: "No reports have

CONFIDENTIAL

been delivered to me by the Foreign Ministry nor the War Ministry regarding the Manchurian incident. However I have told Chief Secretary KAWASAKI to caution them about it. I am trying by various means to prevent this incident from spreading, and if possible to settle it. However it seems that the Army has made a security occupation of various places. Security occupation is a matter to be decided by the government, and the Army has no authority to make decisions regarding such matters. The Chinese military forces in Manchuria exceed 200,000, and at present, the strength of the Japanese Army there is a little over 10,000. I asked the War Minister what is the Japanese Army planning to do — having acted so outrageously in Manchuria,— if by any chance something happened between the small Japanese forces and the huge Chinese forces? The War Minister's answer was: "We will send out troops from Korea. Probably troops already have been sent out from Korea." Therefore I told the War Minister: "Isn't it outrageious for the Army to send out troops from Korea without the consent of the government?" However there is a precedent; during the [illegible] ministry troops were moved without an Imperial Sanction.

It seems to me that the Army thought that it might cause a problem in the future, and had ordered back the troops that have gone to and have crossed the Yalu River. However, I believe it was the contention of the War Minister that nothing could be done with the troops that already have gone into Manchuria. Confronted with these facts, it is im-

CONFIDENTIAL

possible for me to control the Army. It really is outrageous that the Imperial Army moved into action without an Imperial Sanction. I don't think it is logical for me to ask you for advice about this matter, but isn't there something that can be done about it. It isn't that I want you to speak to the GENRO about this or anything of the sort- but it certainly is a problem."

Then I heard about various things, and felt that it was necessary to warn the person close to the Emperor regarding the matter, so before leaving, I said to the Premier: "I will ask the Grand Chamberlain to bear in mind the matter of troop movement without Imperial Sanction."

Then I returned home because I had a visitor. Upon returning home I immediately telephone the Minister of the Imperial Household and told him: "If you are free tonight, I'd like to have the Grand Chamberlain and KIDO come over to your official residence at 8:30 P.M. and the four of us will have a talk." He consented to my suggestion, and said: "I will be waiting for you at 8.30 P.M." Then I telephoned the Grand Chamberlain and KIDO, and told them. "I request you to come to the official residence of the Minister of the Imperial Household at 8.30 tonight."

At 8:30 P.M. I went to the official residence of the Minister of the Imperial Household, and talked about various matters with them until 11 P.M. The Grand Chamberlain and the Minister of the Imperial Household, both, were of the same opinion "It surely

CONFIDENTIAL

is displeasing that the Premier depends too much on others." Then I said: "I was not urgently requested by the Premier to inform persons near the Emperor concerning this matter; however the present situation is troubling the Premier. To move troops without Imperial Sanction is a sort of a coup d'etat, and especially so because it might set a bad example; therefore, for the information of the Grand Chamberlain, I am telling you this." Hearing this, the Grand Chamberlain apparently was angered, and said: "Regardless of the precedent set at the time of TANAKA Cabinet, it is outrageous for the Army to move troops without an Imperial Sanction."

Then I inquired whether it was advisable for the Emperor to call in the presidents of the political parties and issue a warning regarding the matter. KIDO and the Grand Chamberlain seemed to think: "There is not enough unity in the Cabinet. The Cabinet should hold a special meeting, and take more interest in the matter. There isn't enough unity in the Cabinet to control the Army." I was of the same opinion, therefore I was thinking of doing something about it. About 11:00 P.M. I returned home.

Early next morning I visited the Finance Minister, and told him: "The Premier is very much worried and depressed about the present situation. Someone in the Cabinet should make it his responsibility to encourage and cheer up the Premier. I believe that a person such as you are most suited for that job." The Finance Minister replied: "Of course. I'll do my best to be of help, and I

consider it my duty." Then I went to see the Foreign Minister, and told him the same thing. The Foreign Minister seemed disappointed at the comparatively indifferent attitude of the Ministers from the political parties.

Then I went to see the Premier, and told him: "As a matter of fact, I have informed the Grand Chamberlain about the story of last night. According to the observation of the persons close to the Emperor and myself, we believe that there is lack of unity within the Cabinet in this critical moment. The Premier should frequently call a Cabinet meeting. I don't think that there is any other means but by Cabinet meetings and by action of the Cabinet that you will be able to suppress the militarists. I don't think that you are relying on the people close to the Emperor to be of any help, but I think that you should make it the responsibility of the Cabinet to solve this problem. In this critical moment this problem should be solved by exercising the full power of the Cabinet. I know that it is unnecessary, but how about making a motion to call a Cabinet meeting for several days in succession. The Foreign Minister seems to be in favor of it. I have gone to the Foreign Ministry, and have already told them that you have not been receiving any reports from the Foreign Ministry. The Chief of the Asia Bureau told me that if the reports don't come through fast enough, it might be a good idea to send his secretary as a messenger to the Premier daily. However, I believe that it's all right for you to discuss the matter

directly with the Foreign Minister."

The night before, the Chief of the General Staff phoned me, and said: "Please come to the Office of the General Staff at 10:00." Therefore I went to the Office of the General Staff, and met the Chief of the General Staff. The Chief of the General Staff said: "For a long time conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia have been exceedingly bad. Our Army had been enduring the unbearable insults that were cast upon the Japanese by the Chinese. However the matter has reached its climax, and this incident has happened. There are some Japanese who look upon the incident with suspicion, however there definitely is no reason for taking such an attitude. So to speak, those Chinese that were educated by anti-Japanese text books are adults now. In addition, various other reasons must have brought about the condition of today." The Chief of the Generall Staff vehemently insisted that the Manchurian incident was not the plot of the Japanese Army.

Upon hearing what the Chief of the General Staff had to say, I told him: "Not many years have elapsed since the incident (assassination of Chinese War Lord CHANG TSO-LIN by a Japanese Army Officer) of CHANG TSO-LIN. If the Japanese Army makes any move, it is logical for the foreigners to think that it is another plot of the Japanese Army. The culprit, a staff officer of the Japanese Army, who assassinated CHANG TSO-LIN, has not yet been punished by the military law, and he is still working in Manchuria. In view of this evidence, I don't think your explanation

is justified. I don't think that this is a plot of the Army, however many people have the impression that the Army has started something again. Being His Majesty's Chief of the General Staff of the Army, you should see to it that strict discipline is maintained by the Imperial Army and caution the Army not to be eccentric." Then in addition, I said: "The aforementioned is the reason why the Prince (SAIONJI) is worried."

Then the Chief of the General Staff said: "There is a danger that the 200,000 Chinese soldiers in Manchuria might become bandits, and with 10,000 Japanese forces it is impossible to suppress them." By making that remark, the Chief of the General Staff strongly hinted that the Army is planning to increase the forces in Manchuria. Then in addition, the Chief of the General Staff said: "I have told the Emperor that the causes of all these incidents in Manchuria are the drop in the value of silver, and the failure of the soy beans crops. Due to these reasons, the Chinese soldiers are not paid regularly. I told the Emperor that those were the reasons that constituted the basis of anti-Japanese actions, and the Emperor nodded." At the same time, after talking about the recent disorderly situation, the Chief of the General Staff said: "Probably we will have to send out troops to China also."

At 1:00 P.M. the same day I left for Kyoto, and got there at 10:00 P.M. About 11:00 P.M. I had a telephone conversation with the Chief of the Asia Bureau, and then retired to bed. At 9:30 A.M. the

CONFIDENTIAL

following morning I had a talk over the telephone with the Premier, Foreign Minister and the Chief of the Asia Bureau. At 10:00 A.M. I went to the residence of the Prince (SAIONJI) and told him about everything up to date. After hearing my report, the Prince said: "I have been worrying that the situation was going to be like this, and it certainly is a problem. The Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain have stated: 'Should Prince KAN-IN as an Elder official of the Army and as a counselor to the Emperor, have a discussion with the Emperor regarding Military Discipline, probably we will have to ask the Prince (SAIONJI) to return to Tokyo again, and stay for a while. There might be an inquiry by His Majesty.' Then I told them that if there is going to be an inquiry by His Majesty of Prince KAN-IN, the Prince should be mentally prepared beforehand. KIDO and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should have an audience with Prince KAN-IN, for it is necessary to have the Prince informed on the current situation. If there is an inquiry by His Majesty, of course, I will be present."

Then I telephoned KIDO at the Imperial Palace, and told him about the story of Prince KAN-IN.

The Prince (SAIONJI) told me: "I didn't think that there is a possibility, however even if the Cabinet requests permission to resign, the Emperor should absolutely not grant permission in this present-day situation. Please convey my wishes to the Grand Chamberlain and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that until this problem is completely settled, it

is advisable for His Majesty not to grant permission to resign to the Cabinet." Therefore, I immediately telephoned KIDO, and had him convey the wishes of Prince SAIONJI to the Grand Chamberlain and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

At the same time I told KIDO: "When either the War Minister or the Chief of the General Staff reports to His Majesty regarding the movement of troops without Imperial Sanction, the Emperor should absolutely not grant approval to the matter. Also His Majesty should not maintain silence regarding it. It is also necessary to caution His Majesty to stall them by telling them that he will consider the matter, and then later take whatever action is suitable."

CONFIDENTIAL

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 12
(28 September 1931)

Futile Cabinet Moves

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

I returned to Tokyo on the morning of the 22nd. On the 22nd the Premier went to the Imperial Palace and reported to the Emperor about the Cabinet meeting. The items of a report made by the Premier to His Majesty regarding the Cabinet meeting were as follows: (1) Positively to put a stop to the establishment of martial law in the occupied area; (2) Not to control the customs office and the banks; and (3) to suspend all troop movements except for safety measures. The War Minister made a proposition to send Japanese troops from Korea to Manchuria. The reason that the War Minister made such a proposition is that the Chief of the General Staff had told the War Minister that the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army had made a demand for reinforcements of troops in Manchuria due to the shortage of strength. The Cabinet did not approve the proposition of the War Minister because the matter might be taken up by the League of Nations, and also because in case of withdrawal of troops from Manchuria there might be some difficulty. "I (Premier) severly censured the War Minister for sending out troops as far as Kirin and Changchun. During the Cabinet meeting, the Foreign Minister suggested postponement of the General Election, and the handling of the incident through diplomatic negotiations. The War Minister made an assertion: 'Negotiations should be carried on regardless of the election.'" After finishing the report to His Majesty the Premier

CONFIDENTIAL

retired.

Later, the War Minister again had a discussion with the Chief of the General Staff about dispatching troops from Korea to Manchuria. The War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff had decided to bring up the matter in the Cabinet meeting of the 22nd. However, soon after, the War Minister told the Premier: "The Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea had decided that the situation was urgent and already has dispatched one brigade of troops to Manchuria."

The same day, the Chief of the General Staff reported to His Majesty, and made an apology regarding the fact that the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea had made an arbitrary decision to dispatch troops into Manchuria without requesting an Imperial Sanction. The War Minister was deeply humiliated regarding the matter, and returned.

The War Minister was very anxious to have the unauthorized dispatching of troops from Korea officially recognized by the Cabinet meeting.

The same night the Vice-minister of War visited the Premier, and said: "I wish to request the Premier to say the following to the Emperor tonight: 'The Chief of the General Staff has reported to me that the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea has arbitrarily dispatched one brigade of troops to Manchuria. I have also received reports about the matter from the War Ministry. The matter will be decided upon in the Cabinet meeting of tomorrow, and then I will report the decision of the Cabinet to

Your Majesty.'." However, the Premier refused to comply with the suggestion of the Vice-minister of War.

At 9:30 A.M. the following morning, the 23rd, Premier WAKATSUKI was summoned by His Majesty, and was told: "I believe that the policy that has been adopted by the Cabinet to halt the aggravation of the Manchurian incident is very appropriate; therefore, you should endeavor to maintain strict adherence to that policy."

When the Premier withdrew from the presence of His Majesty, he found the Chief of the General Staff waiting for him in the waiting-room. The Chief of the General Staff had come secretly to see the Premier. The Premier abruptly told the Chief of the General Staff that he had received such and such words from His Majesty. Then the Chief of the General Staff said: "Can you insist upon an audience with His Majesty, and report to His Majesty about the arbi-: trary action taken by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea? Unless the matter is approved by the Cabinet meeting, an Imperial Sanction cannot be requested. Therefore, I ask you to pretend that the matter already has been approved by the Cabinet meeting." The Premier rejected the request of the Chief of the General Staff on the spot, and returned to his official residence.

At the Cabinet meeting held that day, the act of unauthorized dispatching of troops to Manchuria by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea was officially reported to the Chief of the

General Staff by the War Ministry. The Cabinet did not officially approve the unauthorized act of the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea. However, the troops already have been dispatched, therefore, it was unanimously decided by the Cabinet and the Finance Minister that the expense of the incident will be paid by the government. The War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff pressed the Premier to report the decision of the Cabinet to the Emperor; therefore, on the same night, the Premier reported to His Majesty regarding the matter. Later, the War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff had an audience with His Majesty, and finally the act of unauthorized dispatching of troops by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Korea was given the formality of receiving Imperial Sanction.

During the Cabinet meeting of the same day, the Premier conveyed the wishes of His Majesty to the Cabinet members: "I believe that the policy that has been decided by the government to halt the aggravation of the Manchurian incident is very appropriate. Therefore, the Cabinet should maintain strict adherence to that policy."

About that time, the Japanese government had received an official communication from SUNG, Tzu-wen, of China: "Suggest an appointment of joint Japanese-Chinese Investigation Committee to settle the Manchurian Problem." The Foreign Minister introduced the suggestion of SUNG, Tzu-wen of China to the Cabinet meeting. With the intention of arresting further arravation of the incident, the Cabinet was about to

agree to the proposition of SUNG that Japan should cooperate. Then, a telegram came from SUNG, Tzu-wen of China stating; "I was of the impression that the Manchurian incident would not be aggravated. However, the outcome of the situation is entirely different from what I expected. Therefore, I request that the appointment of committee (to settle Manchurian Incident) be cancelled." In addition, the Chinese are saying: "We absolutely refuse to negotiate with a government that cannot control the military."

In the afternoon of the previous day, a Chinese Minister visited the Foreign Minister and said: "The present situation is caused by ill feelings of many years. Truly speaking, the relation between Japan and China should be friendly. China has been publicizing that Japan is imperialistic, and has been spreading other malicious propaganda about Japan for a long time. Everyday hatred of the Chinese towards the Japanese is the cause of the present day situation. Therefore, we wish somehow to settle this problem by eliminating the cause of antagonism, and to improve the relations of the two countries."

I told the Chinese Minister about the proposition (appointment of a joint Japanese-Chinese Investigation Committee to settle the Manchurian Problem) of SUNG, Tzu-wen, and the Chinese Minister said that he was in complete accord with him (SUNG). However, soon after, a telegram for cancellation of the proposition came from SUNG, Tzu-wen.

Since the Manchurian situation has developed to the present state, there is nothing the Japanese

government could do but to limit the dispatching of troops to the numbers authorized by treaty. All efforts will be exerted to withdraw troops that have been already dispatched. For the time being, there is nothing we can do but to quietly observe the situation.

The Army has sent a request to the Premier for authorization to dispatch troops as originally planned, and also to dispatch troops for the protection of Manchurian Railways.

The Premier received reports from the Manchuria Railway Company that the young staff officers have almost completely ignored the Army Commanders, and have tried to run things as they pleased. It also seems that the young staff officers even planned to dispatch troops to Harbin. Upon receiving such reports, the Premier called in the War Minister, Foreign Minister and the Finance Minister to make sure that the troops will not be dispatched to Harbin. The Premier stated that instructions not to dispatch troops to Harbin, should already have been issued. However, to determine whether the instructions already had been issued or not, the Premier summoned Lt. General NINOMIYA (assistant Chief of Staff), and found out that the instructions already had been forwarded. Not only the instructions not to dispatch troops to Harbin, were issued, but immediately, a telegram was sent to determine whether the Japanese troops had already entered Harbin. The War Minister said: "I will withdraw troops from Kirin The expenditures for the troop movement from Korea will be

paid by the government. In general, I believe the matter can be settled without calling a session of the Diet." Anyhow, at that meeting, the opinion of the Foreign Minister, the War Minister, and the Finance Minister were wholly in accord regarding the matter. It was promised by the War Minister that he would not take any arbitrary action in the future, and they departed.

I had not seen Admiral OKADA for a long time, so I went to see him on the 23rd. Admiral OKADA told me: "It seems to me that HIRANUMA of the Privy Council is taking a very active part in the current Army schemes. The Army has gone further than I expected in their actions and a change of Chief of the General Staff is extremely necessary. I believe that it can be easily done if this incident is settled. On the 24th, there were warnings from the League of Nations and from America regarding the Manchurian Incident. STIMSON of America had told Ambassador DEBUCHI: 'From the beginning, I have had high respect and faith in the character and foreign policy of Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA. I have also met the Premier in London, and I have considerable respect and faith in his character and in his ability. When the present Cabinet was formed, I acquired an expectation that Japan would contribute considerably to world peace as long as Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA was in the Cabinet. I believe that the Cabinet is confronted with extreme difficulty due to the present incident. By all means we should strive to return the present situation to normal. There was a proposition from a

certain country to send an officer to Manchuria to investigate the actual situation, however, America rejected this proposition.' Even such matters were told to DEBUCHI by STIMSON, and such were the reports from DEBUCHI in America."

On the night of the 24th, the reply to the League of Nations was drafted by the Foreign Ministry and on the 25th the matter was officially announced.

On the 25th, the Premier visited the Imperial Palace, and reported to His Majesty about the cause for delay in delivering the reply to the League of Nations. Before leaving, the Premier told His Majesty: "The Foreign Minister will report to Your Majesty at a later hour to furnish detailed information regarding the matter."

During the same visit, the Emperor asked the Premier: "Have the troops already withdrawn from Chengchiatun? What has happened at Kirin?"

I was told that the Emperor had approved the policy that was decided upon and was to be carried out by the Cabinet. At that time, the Premier told the Emperor: "The delay in the delivery of reply to the League of Nations was due to the fact that the Army failed to withdraw troops from certain areas even after the matter was settled by the Cabinet, and also even after the War Minister promised to carry out the order. If a promise is not carried out after making a public statement, and after delivering a reply to the League of Nations, the matter will have a grave bearing on the prestige of a nation. Therefore, I have been observing the situ-

ation of the Army, and was delayed regarding the matter until today."

Later, the Foreign Minister had an audience with His Majesty. The Foreign Minister spoke to His Majesty about the China problem for about 1½ hours, and also explained the text of the reply to the League of Nations. His Majesty appeared extremely pleased regarding the matter. I happened to telephone the Premier and the Foreign Minister about that time, and they both were delighted over the satisfaction of His Majesty regarding the subject.

Upon returning to Tokyo on the morning of the 26th, I immediately went to the Foreign Ministry, and visited the Office of the Chief of the Asia Bureau. There was a report in the Office of the Chief of the Asia Bureau from the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. The report concerned the reinstallation movement of Emperor HSUAN Tung (Pu-i) sponsored by Colonel DOIHARA and others of the Army. The Chief of the Asia Bureau was very much troubled about the matter, therefore he asked me to see the Chief of the General Staff about putting a stop to the scheme of Colonel DOIHARA.

I had not reported to the Chief of the General Staff on the previous message which I transmitted for him to Prince SAIONJI. Therefore, at the same time that I told the Chief of the General Staff about the message that I conveyed for him to the Prince, I said: "The Prince said, 'You, as Chief of the General Staff of the Emperor, should not permit the Army to take such an action in Manchuria as to betray the

statement made to the world by the Japanese Government regarding military command of the Army.' The Prince has mentioned his deep concern regarding the matter to me.

"There is a report at the office of the Chief of the Asia Bureau that there is a reinstallation movement (of Emperor Hsuan Tung), but I absolutely do not believe that there is such a scheme. However, I want you to take precautions regarding the matter."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 13
(2 October 1931)

General Staff v. Cabinet

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

According to the reports that have been received by the Overseas Affairs Ministry: "In the reinstallation movement of Emperor HSUAN Tung (Pu-i), DEGUCHI, Wanisaburo of Omoto-kyo (religion) is active. Colonel DOIHARA is also backing the movement." There are others who advocate republicanism and are planning to organize a republican form of government. It is extremely distasteful for any Japanese to meddle with the internal affairs of China, and more so for the military. Therefore, the War Minister secretly dispatched military police (Kempei) to China to suppress these activities.

The Japanese government received reports from Manchuria to the effect that: "Ultra-nationalistic racketeers of the Tokyo area, who have escaped arrest by the Metropolitan Police, have gone to Manchuria, and are acting extremely irresponsible." Officials of the government are considerably distressed over the situation, and have been saying, 'Isn't there anything that could be done about it.'"

According to the story of MORISHIMA, Section I Chief (Asia Bureau) of the Foreign Ministry, who just returned from a mission to Mukden, he first visited Consul-General HAYASHI in Mukden. MORISHIMA told HAYASHI: "The Cabinet does not want this incident to enlarge. Therefore, I want you to bear that in mind in handling all matters." However, the Consul-

CONFIDENTIAL

General HAYASHI said: "That is practically impossible." The situation was such that the incident had only a tendency to expand further. According to what I have heard, even the life of Consul-General HAYASHI is in danger. The militarists in Manchuria consider him an obstacle, and there was an indication of an attempted assassination. The condition was such that even the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army was in a state of restriction to quarters. Three staff officers of the Kwantung Army — NISHIHARA, HANATANI and ITAGAKI — were the center of activities in Manchuria, and since the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, MIYAKI, was not at all able to control his staff, he let the three do things as they pleased.

Whenever they (NISHIHARA, HANATANI & ITAGAKI) drank, they always boasted that: "This plot (Manchurian incident) was planned long ago. On the 25th of July, an artillery battery was already made ready in Mukden. Furthermore, we have succeeded in this plan, therefore when we return to the homeland (Japan) this time, we will carry out a coup d'etat, and do away with the political party system of government. Then we will promulgate a nation of National Socialism with the Emperor as the center. We will do away with capitalists, Mistui and Mitsubishi, and will carry out the even distribution of wealth. We are determined to do so!" The intellectuals in Manchuria are very much concerned about their actions.

The condition is such that when an instruction is sent to them (the military in Manchuria) by the government through a minister or the Chief of the

General Staff, the instruction is never carried out; they do things as they see fit. For instance, when Major General TATEKAWA was sent to Manchuria with the confidential letter of the Premier to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, the intent of the mission was to curb the unbecoming actions taken by the Kwantung Army. However, the truth is that there was an indication that TATEKAWA agitated them still more rather than to rectify the situation.

When Major General TATEKAWA arrived in Mukden, there were a few persons who had found out about the coming of TATEKAWA, and who secretly came to the station to meet him. They greeted him by asking: "Are you not General TATEKAWA?" TATEKAWA answered: "I don't know such a person; I am not TATEKAWA"; and he fled ffom them. Then at the Yamato Hotel in Mukden, TATEKAWA encountered the Director of the South Manchuria Railway Co, GOTO, and he was then no longer able to hide his identity. He then had to make public his trip to Mukden. On the return trip, TATEKAWA happened to board the same train with a Formosan that he knew. That Formosan happened to be on the way back from Paris to Japan, and happened to meet TATEKAWA on the train in Mukden. I heard that TATEKAWA repeatedly said to the Formosan: "If one shot of Japanese artillery is fired into Mukden, the Chinese will surely scatter and run for their lives. It really is delightful." TATEKAWA then kept on talking about war.

On the 29th, when three of us, MORI of the Seiyu-Kai, SHIRATORI of the Foreign Ministry and I were

having dinner at Kuwana (restaurant), there was a phone call from the Premier, and he said: "Please come immediately." Therefore, I immediately went to the official residence of the Premier to see him. The Premier said to me: "I want you to tell this only to Prince SAIONJI. I am very much worried. This afternoon, the Chief of the General Staff came to my place and we talked about various matters. First of all, he said: 'The reasons that the instructions of the government are not carried out in Manchuria are the inefficiency of the communications system and prevailing conditions. When I say things like this, it might sound as if the government and the Army are not on amicable terms with one another, but there absolutely is no basis for such a suspicion. The report that the Japanese Army men are connected with the reinstallation movement is wholly untrue. The Army does not condone such actions. Not only for Army men, but also for persons not connected with the Army, it is improper to take any part in such activities. This time, I don't want the problem of the Command function discussed as was previously done.'

"I thought that the Chief of the General Staff was referring to the Command function problem that was brought up at the Geneva Conference; therefore, I started to talk about the Geneva Conference of next year. The Chief of the General Staff cut me short, and said: 'No, I'm not talking about that. What I meant is that in the event that the Army dispatches troops to the Yangtze River basin, I

don't want the government to impose any restrictions.' I had previously heard that the Army was planning to blockade Shanghai, therefore, I felt that this was a very serious matter. I am extremely worried because I think that he made the aforementioned remarks so that in the event that the Army blockades Shanghai, the Japanese government will not interfere with their actions. I spoke to the Chief of the General Staff about current international relations, economic conditions in Japan and various important matters for 1½ hours, tThen I said: 'The present is not the moment for Japan to engage in war. I believe that you have many worries as Chief of the General Staff to His Majesty's Army. However, I myself am also very much concerned about this present difficult internal and foreign situation. Therefore, I request your discretion.' Then I departed.

"There is a possibility that the Chief of the General Staff might make a direct appeal to His Majesty regarding the matter. It is a very serious matter, therefore I want you to caution the Prince (SAIONJI) about this. 'I want you to keep this an absolute secret, and speak of it only to the Prince'."

Then I once more returned to Kuwana, and again continued my talk with MORI and SHIRATORI. Then late that night I visited the home of KIDO, Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and told him about the talk I had had with the Premier. I asked him: "Please tell the Grand Chamberlain to bear in mind the possibility of the Chief of the General Staff making a direct appeal to His Majesty, and to

take precautions." KIDO said to me: "Tomorrow morning I will tell the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about the situation." So, I departed for home.

The following day happened to be the day I was to leave for Kyoto. About 11 o'clock there was a phone call from the Palace, and I was told, "Please come immediately." Therefore, I immediately reported to the Palace. At the Palace, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Grand Chamberlain and the Minister of the Imperial Household were waiting for me. Along with those three, KIDO was also present, and I told them all about the situation. Finally, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seemed to have had understood the situation.

At that time, I felt that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was of the opinion that whenever the Premier confronted difficulty, he sought the aid of persons close to the Emperor. Therefore, I earnestly told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "This is not the request of the Premier. I was asked by the Premier to tell this only to the Prince (SAIONJI). However, the matter directly pertains to the Emperor, therefore I thought that persons close to the Emperor should be cautioned." Then the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "According to what I have heard, when NINOMIYA, Assistant Chief of the General Staff, visited HIRANUMA, Vice Chairman of the Privy Council, he (NINOMIYA) said: 'Today, there is no danger of intervention by America and Russia, even when Japan dispatched troops to Manchuria. Why should not the Army take more aggressive action in

China?'"

After returning, I again met the Premier on other business. The Premier said: "At the Cabinet meeting, the War Minister repeatedly stressed: 'Troops should be dispatched to Chintao.' Therefore, I said, 'Absolutely no! If there is any danger, it is advisable to evacuate the Japanese nationals.' However, the War Minister retorted: 'In case the lives and properties of Japanese nationals are molested, will you (Premier) take the responsibility?' Therefore, I answered: 'That cannot be helped.'

At a later date, there were incidents of bombings and assults in Chientao. The culprit, a Korean, was apprehended. Upon investigation, the Korean confessed. 'I was asked by a Japanese Army man to do that.' The situation is such, therefore it surely is dangerous."

Later, I was asked: "At three o'clock, there will be a discussion meeting of the Kosei-kai, in the House of Peers, on current events, so please come."

I attended the discussion meeting of the Kosei-kai. At the meeting, I was asked by Baron IWAKURA: "Please tell us about current problems in detail."

Therefore, I said: "Due to the nature of my work, I cannot tell you the real facts on secret matters. However, as a matter of importance, I will talk, abstractly, about the Manchurian incident and the Army. If you think that the Manchurian incident is merely a diplomatic problem, you are making a big mistake. This Manchurian incident has its prelude

in the Army coup d'etat. Because the plan by an element of the Army to storm the Imperial Diet in session on March 20th of this year has failed, the Manchurian Incident was started to give vent to their emotions. From the beginning to the end, the government was made a complete fool of by the Army. The fact that their plot has succeeded in Manchuria will surely give a certain element of the Army the confidence that they can also do the same in Japan, and there lies the real danger. The far-off causes of the present situation are: the anti-militaristic trend that strongly affected the sincere young officers of that time, and also the subject of reduction of arms that always was interpreted as a pressure against and ostracization of the military to those Army men who lacked understanding of the international situation.

There are reports (from Manchuria) that the special interests and privileges of Japan gained by the achievements of the military, that is by the extraordinary sacrifices of the army and navy, are being violated. Consequently, great dissatisfaction is expressed toward the (weak) foreign policies of Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA over the fact that the stark violation (by China) of the special interests gained under the guidance of the august plans of Emperor MEIJI in Manchuria and Mongolia by the Army and the Navy is completely ignored. In addition, there has been the traditional mania of the General Staff to want to do things, and the mania to start things. When the sentiment was such, the fact that the present Cabinet reduced the pay of government

officials had a strong effect especially on the military. The military are saying that the so-called politicians are either indulging in drinking and amusements, taking graft or are doing as they please about politics. They are also saying that the politicians are prejudicing state affairs, and that their conduct in the Diet session is unbearably disgraceful. The politicians are taking advantage of the fact that the military men are barred from participating in politics, and are doing such things as to endager our living, think the military. The politicians have not passed any law to levy taxes on capitalist interests and to increase the income tax of the capitalist classes. The politicians do not increase the tax of the powerful capitalists, but persecute us small-pay government officials. Such matters strongly affected especially the military. It is an undisputed fact that those matters have coincidentally stimulated and accelerated the various plans of the military."

The main force of the whole plot is the Sakurakai, a secret organization which was formed in 1927.

At the discussion meeting of the Kosei-kai, I did not talk about Sakura-kai or its secret. I made the aforementioned talk, and after cautioning them about the present situation, I departed.

When Lt. Colonel of the Army SUZUKI, SHIRATORI (Foreign Ministry) and I had dined together about three or four days ago, Lt. Colonel SUZUKI and SHIRATORI seemed to respond to one another's opinion because one night, on a later date, those two met and had a leisurely talk with one another.

General Staff v. Cabinet

I arrived in Kyoto on the 29th at 9 o'clock. Then I reported to the Prince in general about the situation up to now. The Prince also was very much concerned about the military, and said: "I shall have to think about doing something about it."

I returned on the 1st, and met SHIRATORI at the Foreign Ministry. SHIRATORI said: "I had a discussion with SUZUKI (Lt. Col). They are planning things with extraordinary determination. What they advocate deserves a great deal of sympathy in part. However, if the matters are left only to the military to be carried out, I wouldn't know to what extent the whole thing will develop. Therefore, I think that I will take a look into the matter, and try to learn more about the situation. How about you joining me?"

I replied: "Of course, let us, you and I, observe the situation."

According to the course of the conversation, there seems to exist a feeling among them (military) that they should take action during December when the Diet is in session.

The matter was of extreme urgency, therefore, I asked KIDO, KONOYE and SHIRATORI over to my place, and privately, had a discussion about the current situation.

CONFIDENTIAL

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 14
(11 October 1931)

Army Criticism of the Emperor

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

After a discussion, the four of us (KIDO, KONOYE, SHIRATORI & HARADA (myself)) came to the conclusion that: "Let's collect information from various sources, and maintain constant contact with each other."

In the Cabinet meeting of the 1st of October, Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA stated that he wanted a clarification of the policy (in Manchuria) of Japan before the opening of the Council meeting (League of Nations) in Geneva on the 14th. If Japan withdraws troops by that time (from Manchuria), there will be no problem. The Foreign Minister further stated that the stationing of troops (in Manchuria) for the purpose of self-protection is all right. However, the maintenance of more than necessary troops, and the keeping of troops in Kirin and Tungkia is not very good. However, the War Minister proposed withdrawal from the League of Nations, and said: "If we withdraw troops now, the situation will be very difficult for us, and we will not be able to maintain control of the situation in Mukden and Kirin. In the first place, I believe it better for Japan to withdraw from the League of Nations."

The Premier explained the world situation, and attempted to reason with the War Minister from the financial and economic standpoint. The Premier said: "If Japan does not act with due consideration of her international relations, Japan in the end will

be isolated, and this will bring an unexpected misfortune upon the nation."

I heard that the financial condition of America was bad, therefore, I met the President of the Yokohama Specie Bank and asked him about the economic and financial condition of America. The President said; "From September 23 to October 2, of the 2 billion dollars gold-bullion in the New York financial market, 200 million dollars of gold had been ear-marked and 48 million dollars of gold bullion had flowed to foreign countries; as a result of this, apprehension was caused in certain circles that the United States might place an embargo on gold exportation. The United States has loaned $3,500,000,000 on a long term loan to Germany, and has loaned about $300,000,000 to $500,000,000 on a short term loan to Germany. The Chase National Bank of New York made a loan of $100,000,000 to Germany. It was rumored that the financial condition of the Chase National Bank was questionable, and it was a great shock to the financial circles of the United States. The drop in value of the Pound (E) and stocks was 20% from September 1 to October 3. The credit of the United States has also decreased rapidly, therefore, in reality, the financial situation is not stable. According to European sources, the financial condition of Japan was most stable at the time the United States placed an embargo on gold. However, at present, the larger financial concerns of Japan are sending their capital to foreign countries. The Bank of Japan and the Finance Ministry do not seem to be concerned about an embargo

again being placed on gold; however, they seem to be keeping a close watch on speculators. The situation in China is very critical."

Then I visited IKEDA, Seihin at Mitsui Bank, and talked about various matters. IKEDA said: "Recently, I met HIRANUMA, Vice-President of the Privy Council. Baron HIRANUMA proposed the severance of diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan.

"During the Cabinet meeting, Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA severely criticized the War Minister for dispatching troops without Imperial Sanction. However, Home Minister ADACHI defended the War Minister, and since then, ADACHI has been extremely popular with the military.

"When the Chief of the General Staff and the War Minister requested an audience with His Majesty after the dispatching of troops from Korea to Manchuria without Imperial Sanction, the Emperor appeared very displeased.

"I know Lt. General ARAKI very well, and according to him, 'The activities of young Army officers have gained such a momentum that it is almost impossible for me to suppress it.'"

Therefore, before departing, I said: "I request that a neutral person, such as you (IKEDA), explain to them (military) in detail the economic situation of Japan, and tell them that for the benefit of the country, caution is necessary."

The following day, I visited Baron YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo. He was very much concerned about the economic condition of today. He said: "To place an

embargo on the exportation of gold again is absolutely unwise. At present, there are about 870-odd million Yen in gold reserves in the Bank of Japan, and the currency in circulation is about 900 million Yen. So far, there is absolutely no worry even if 100 or 200 million Yen of gold are sent to foreign countries. Mitsui (firm) is still buying dollars; however, it should not go beyond 100 million.

"The general principle of the policy of INOUYE, Finance Minister, is most appropriate. However, only to decrease the expenditure along with the decrese of income, and not to take any measure to meet the situation is unreasonable. There is a necessity of his being a little more reasonable about those matters."

On October 4th, I met the Premier. He told me about the progress of the situation regarding self-protection (troop situation in Manchuria). The Premier said: "For precaution, the Army has finally dispatched troops to Kirin also. The government has frequently warned the Army not to enlarge the situation. When the Army planned to dispatch troops to Harbin, the Assistant Chief of the General Staff was called in to verify the situation, and the plan was cancelled. There is lack of coordination between the Army Headquarters in Tokyo and the troops in Manchuria, and the situation is difficult. Japan has been notified by the League of Nations, and has been requested by the United States not to enlarge the situation (in Manchuria). A reply has to be issued in regard to the matter. There was an un-

official warning from DRUMMOND of the League of Nations regarding the matter. However, if we clearly state in an official statement that The Japanese troops are not making security occupation, but are merely occupying places, if order is restored, without question, the troops will be withdrawn, and negotiation regarding the incident, and the occupation by troops are entirely different problems, that should alleviate the situation in the Council (of the League of Nations). The Council Meeting will not be held until the 14th of October. Upon observation of the attitude of Japan, if it is necessary, the meeting will be held. At the regular session of the Privy Council, the Privy Councillors said: 'The action taken by the Army this time is very appropriate'. Furthermore, various extremists, without understanding the situation have incited the military, therefore, it seems that the attitude of the military has become more firm. China will not negotiate. Probably, it might be like the Tsinan Incident of the past year, and I'm very much concerned. In the South (China), they are starting an anti-Japanese movement, and the situation is very critical." For about an hour, the Premier told me about his various predicaments.

A person such as Count ITO, Miyoji of the Privy Council is saying: "A diplomatic investigation committee should be created in a critical time like this."

I left for Osaka on the morning of the 5th, and arrived there at 5:20 o'clock. Through the good offices of Mr. KOKURA, I had a previously arranged dinner engagement with ARE, division commander.

Army Criticism of the Emperor

I met ABE in the entertainment district of Osaka. Lt. General ABE said: "The Army of today cannot be controlled by General UGAKI. If the politicians of today are more serious, for instance, if the politicians seriously discuss matters with the military, probably something can be done."

After talking on various matters, ABE said: "KOISO and ARAKI are the ones that have the confidence and the support of young officers."

That night, I returned late to Kyoto. Then on the following morning, 6th, I visited the Prince, and told him about various matters. The Prince said: "According to the observation of the unity of the young officers of the Army, and in view of the anonymous notes and information that are available, the whole matter is very involved. Furthermore, I discovered various things that are entirely new to me. I think that there is a probability of the presence of communistic elements in the Army. In reviewing world history, when an Imperial regime is overthrown, as a prelude to a revolution, various methods are taken, and today, there exists a very similar situation to that. The reservists are publicising that: When the palace guard on duty, was making a tour of the palace grounds, he noticed a light in the room of the Emperor late at night. Thinking that the Emperor was working hard till late at night due to the pressing state affairs, the palace guard was over-whelmed with gratitude. However, on the contrary: the Emperor was playing Majong with the Empress. Also, that when the Chief of the General Staff or the War

CONFIDENTIAL

Minister reports to His Majesty, the Emperor showed apparent displeasure as if they reported too often. They are also saying that the Princes of royal blood are supporting the activities of the secret societies, and that they are endorsing the compact with blood. In view of the fact that the whole thing has been originated by the Army, I feel that these are the activities of the Leftists."

After making a report in general, I left Kyoto on the 6th, and arrived at Tokyo on the morning of the 7th.

I was planning to go to Kyoto on the 8th, on Fuji (express train), at 1:00 o'clock, however, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal asked me: "Please postpone the trip, until after meeting me."

At 4:00 o'clock, the three of us, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, KIDO and I met at the Palace. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "The situation is very critical. We feel very helpless, therefore, I wish to request the Genro to come to Tokyo as soon as possible. The Emperor also seems to be concerned about the situation. It is essential that the consulting body of the Emperor be complete in a time like this, therefore, please ask him to return.

"The Grand Chamberlain and the Minister of the Imperial Household are of the same opinion."

In the evening, I met the Premier. He told me: "Up to now, I have told all the Cabinet members: "It is not desirable for the Army to be connected with the founding of an independent government in Manchuria." All the Cabinet members agreed with me

about the matter. I called in the War Minister last, and told him: "The present is the time for the Army quietly to observe the situation. The Japanese government has previously stated to the world that Japan, absolutely, does not harbour territorial ambition in the founding of the independent government in Manchuria. The Army should not be connected in any way in the founding of the independent government because it will betray the statement made by the Japanese government. In the first place, to do such a thing is a violation of the Nine Power Treaty, and then the whole world will be our enemy. In view of the present economic situation, we are practically forced to be isolated. The founding of a Manchurian independent government will tend to endanger the position of Japan, therefore, as for Japan, by all means the project should be carried out within treaty limitations. Regardless of the formation of the independent government in Manchuria, by all means, negotiations should be made through the Central Government of China." The War Minister replied: "Then the situation will be the same as prior to the incident. Please let me think the matter over for a few days."

"Presently the relations between the military in Manchuria and the Foreign Office Representative there are not harmonious. Therefore, I am going to dispatch Lt. General OSHIMA Yenich" (ex-War Minister) and YAMAKAWA, Yasue, both members of the House of Peers, to observe the situation. On the other hand, the anti Japanese movement is getting extremely intense. Therefore, in the Cabinet meeting

CONFIDENTIAL

it was decided that a war-ship will be dispatched to China, and at the same time a protest will be sent to the Chinese government." About that time, the Chinese Minister continually requested the Japanese Government to desist from dispatching a war ship to China.

The Premier was constantly worried about the appropriations and the administration readjustment (progrem). Whenever the Premier met the Finance Minister, and asked him about the matter, the Finance Minister would always say: "Everything is all right. Please put your mind at ease. Everything is ready."

The Premier met the other Cabinet Ministers. They were also complaining that: "It (appropriation and administration readjustment plan) still is not ready."

The Premier was complaining that: "The Finance Minister took charge of the matters, but I never know what the situation is."

On the 8th, I went to Kyoto on the 9:25 o'clock train. When the train was about to leave, an extra came out, stating that: "Japanese Army bombards Chinchow, stating that it is the base of operations to disturb the peace and order in Manchuria."

At 9:00 o'clock, on the morning of the 9th, I met the Prince. I conveyed the message of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Grand Chamberlain and the Premier, urging him to come to Tokyo.

The Prince said: "Well, I think that I will observe the situation for a while, and then go to

Tokyo. If I go now, I might cause more commotion. Presently, TAKUMO, Denbu has sent me a strange telegram, stating that MAKINO is a disloyal subject, therefore, upon coming to Tokyo, I request you to take action regarding the matter. Anyhow, at this moment, I want you to telephone MAKINO, and tell him, 'Lets observe the situation for a while.'"

Then for the time being, I returned to my hotel. I telephoned KIDO in Tokyo, and told him to convey the message of the Prince to all concerned. In the evening, I spoke to the Premier over the telephone, and also the Foreign Ministry. Then I reported to the Prince about the current situation, and returned to Tokyo on the night-train.